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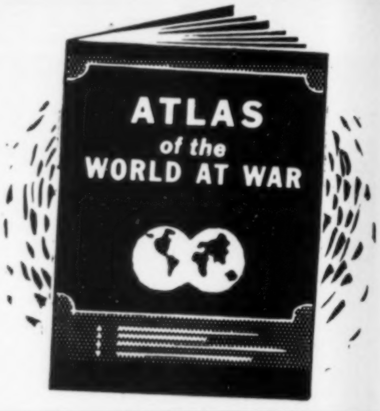

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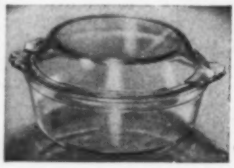

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College and School News

President M. W. Dogan of **Wiley College** finally relinquished the administration of the institution on August 14, after 46 years in that position. He is succeeded by Dr. Egbert C. McLeod, for the past three years professor of religion and philosophy and college pastor.

In July an Institute on Child Welfare was held at the College.

St. Augustine's College will cooperate with the U. S. War Department during the 1942-43 school year by setting up the Enlisted Reserve Corps in which a certain number of students possessing superior qualifications will be permitted to volunteer as enlisted reserves and placed on inactive duty in order to continue their education. By this plan the War Department moves to create for the U. S. Army and Navy a reserve pool of officer candidate material.

Lincoln University (Mo.) held its annual summer convocation on August 6, when Lloyd W. King, Missouri Superintendent of Public Schools was the speaker, Nineteen persons received degrees of: Bachelor of Arts (9), Bachelor of Science (3) and Bachelor of Science in Education (7).

Tuskegee Institute reports that paints from clay developed by A. W. Curtis, Jr., assistant to Dr. George W. Carver, have been submitted to the War Department as a possible valuable military aid in the camouflage field.

Capt. Frank L. Drye, Director of the Tuskegee Institute Band and Orchestra, has been ordered to active duty by the Secretary of War, and has reported to the Commanding Officer of the Tuskegee Army Advanced Flying School.

Eleven members of the **Bennett College** regular session who completed the requirements during the summer session, received degree of Bachelor of Arts on July 15. They were Misses Eunice Cotton, Celeste Dennis, Alberta Hairston, Laurie Johnson, Catherine Jones, Ruth McConnell, Pearl Mebane,

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At the same time 132 members of the summer institute received certificates of achievement in the Child Health and Community Leadership workshops. The General Education Board made possible the Child Health Institute while the Community Leadership workshop was sponsored by the Payne fund both of New York City.

West Virginia State College is now on a twenty-four hour schedule because of its many national defense training courses.

Over 400 young men will be enrolled in the Field Artillery Reserve Officers Training Corps Unit.

Sixty-two students graduated from the summer sessions on August 15.

Thirty-five students at the first session of **Shaw University** summer school averaged ninety-three and were included on the Shaw University Honor Roll. At the fifth annual Shaw University Summer School Commencement exercises on August 21, the principal speaker was Rev. J. Alvin Russell, president of Saint Paul Polytechnic Institute. Sixty in-service teachers and regular session students received degrees.

Shaw's Workshop Seminar from June 15 to July 24 attracted seventeen school principals, teachers and supervisors from all sections of North Carolina.

At **Hampton Institute** four hundred and seventy-five enlisted men have received three months intensive training as auto mechanics for the armed forces. There are now 170 in the course.

Over 2,000 workers from neighboring shipyards, drydocks, and foundries have been given "refresher" courses in skills badly needed in wartime industries.

In mid-September, the College will welcome the first platoon of seamen from the Great Lakes Naval Training Station for instruction as electricians, metalsmiths, machinists, shipfitters, and Diesel engineers. This is the first Negro naval training program in history. A total naval population of about 600 persons will have to be accommodated on the campus.

Hampton's summer school enrolled 452 students, 126 of them candidates for advanced degrees.

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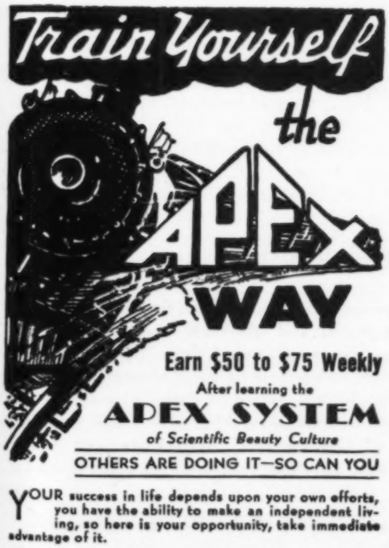

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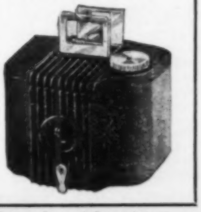

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Volume 49, No. 9 *Whole No. 381*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y., by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15¢ *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

One of the features of the October number will be a new story entitled "Lunching at the Ritzmore." There will be also the second series of photographs in "First Ladies of Colored America."

Ernest Johnson has done a revealing and interesting article on Samuel Battle, New York's Parole Commissioner.

We hope to be able to present a new photographic study of judge Hubert T. Delany, New York's newest—and fifth—Negro judge of a court of record, together with pictures of the other four judges.

•

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Harry Paxton Howard has lived in the Far East for 24 years—five years in Japan and nineteen in China. He is the author of "The Socialist and Labor Movement in Japan," publication of which caused his deportation from that country. In China he was editor of various newspapers among them the *China Courier* at Shanghai. He was at one time professor of Chinese diplomatic history at Soochow university. Mr. Howard returned to the United States in 1941.

Louis E. Martin is the editor of the *Michigan Chronicle*, published in Detroit.

Gloster Current is the executive secretary of the Detroit, Michigan, branch of the NAACP.

•

Editorials

Bright Spot, Black Spot

THE bright spot insofar as the army and the Negro is concerned continues to be the policy of training Negro and white officer candidates in the same schools, in the same classes, using the same barracks and mess halls, with only after-hour recreation segregated. Without fanfare, and with firmness and fairness, the army inaugurated and has maintained this policy, and for so doing deserves commendation. As a result of it, we will have better Negro officers, a better spirit among our men, and a better understanding between them and their white fellow officers.

Black spot on the army-Negro front continues to be the beating up and shooting of Negro soldiers by white civilians in the South. Army officials are aware of this situation and have said they are trying to do something about it, but the results, so far, are not encouraging. A possibility that improvement is on the way is seen in the announcement by Attorney General Francis Biddle that the U. S. Department of Justice, at the request of the War Department, has taken action against two Beaumont, Tex., policemen who beat up and shot twice a Negro soldier whom they had arrested for the great "crime" of sitting in a section of a bus reserved for white people. If the War Department will act positively and firmly to protect its men in uniform, regardless of color, it will remove a chief cause of bitter feeling in the Negro population.

FEPC Is Captured By the South

TIME will show, we believe, that the transfer of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice to the War Manpower Commission means it has been captured by the southern reactionaries in Congress and that its usefulness will be greatly impaired if not destroyed altogether.

It is significant that the FEPC, which had operated independently on a budget provided out of funds at the disposal of the President, was not transferred to WMC until *after* it had held hearings on discrimination against Negro workers in the heart of the South—in Birmingham, Ala. The South raged against these hearings and tried to stop them, only to find that southern Congressmen and Senators were powerless because the committee's funds were not at the mercy of Congress.

The story has not been told, and doubtless will never be told fully, but it is easy to imagine that the southern bloc laid down an ultimatum to the President and he—acting on a situation built up as a result of misunderstanding of verbal instructions—transferred FEPC to an agency over which Congress does have budgetary control. Mr. Roosevelt to the contrary, we are afraid that FEPC is due to have its wings clipped by the southerners in Congress who want no interference with the way their section of the country treats Negroes, Executive order or no Executive order.

Quota System Unfair To Our Fliers

AS of August 15, thirty-four Negro pilots had finished their training and been commissioned as officers in the Army Air Forces, according to an announcement by Lieut. Gen. Henry H. Arnold, chief of the service. The actual combat training of these men, is reported to have begun in August, 1941, with the first class being graduated March 7, 1942.

All this time our government has been screaming for more and more men to enlist in the air forces. Posters, newspaper and magazine advertising, and radio appeals have called for men. Our boys have answered the call and have had their applications placed on file. Certainly scores of young Negroes, perhaps hundreds, have been placed on a waiting list purely because of the racial quota system, which limits them to training at one segregated air base. White lads, we are informed, have had to wait a maximum of only 90 days.

The racial quota system should be abolished. Our side needs all the good fighting pilots it can train and get to the fronts. The army is training officers for other branches of the service in racially mixed officers' training candidate schools and it could just as well train flying officers in the same manner. In the beginning there was that usual and curious question in the minds of officials as to whether Negroes could really fly airplanes. The unofficial word is that they can fly them about as well as other men. All the army needs to do is to make the word official, open up all air training bases to Negroes and give these young Americans unrestricted opportunity to fly and fight for their country. This would mean training for our boys as bombardiers, navigators, gunners, and pilots of multi-engined craft, all of which is now denied them. The Army Air Forces could give a tremendous boost to Negro morale by taking this step.

Union Acts Against Jim Crow Hotels

A HEARTENING action against jim crow hotels was taken in August by the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, a CIO union, when it voted to remove its annual convention from Indianapolis, Ind., to Cleveland, Ohio, because the Indianapolis hotels refused to agree to accommodate Negro delegates.

This direct and forthright move by this particular union shows what organized labor can do in fighting discrimination if it chooses to act instead of talk. But for the United Electrical Workers this is no new act in support of a new belief, for their resolution at a recent annual convention declared it was not enough for unions to condemn racial discrimination; they pledged themselves to *work* for its abolition. The moving of their convention proves their resolution was not just an empty one.

Britain Fumbles In India

IT is true, as has been stated repeatedly, that the situation in India is a complicated one, but what is never stated is that a great percentage of the complicated factors was created by the British themselves. India is 90% illiterate after 300 years of British rule. India is chopped up and effectively divided by the so-called independent states maintained through the grace of the British empire against just such a day as today. India's millions are exploited, starved, and tax-ridden to keep bright and gleaming (and fabulous) the biggest jewel in the crown of empire.

After 300 years of British benevolence, Gandhi and the Indian people think they ought to be free men, to make their own mistakes, to work out their own destiny. Britain's answer was, "Wait until after the war." When Gandhi, remembering the broken promise after World War I, demanded freedom now, Britain acted in the only way she has learned to act: jail for the leaders, and troops for the masses. This fumbling, despite censorship and counter-propaganda, is properly recognized as a serious menace to the cause of the United Nations; and a mistake which must be adjusted if we are to win.

I Believe in Democracy So Much

I believe in democracy, so much
That I want everybody in America,
To have some of it.

The poor white textile workers
    In the mills of Carolina
    Harassed and heckled,
    Sweating and swathed
    With an insatiable desire, to merely,
    Live.
    Peeved,
        Paupered, whites,
    They must have some of it.

The defense workers,
    Wide-eyed and starry,
    So engrossed in their task,
    So enveloped in their production
    They forget, that
        It is for them,
    The cogwheels of industry are humming,
    The rivets of machinery are turning,
    Yes, the mills of the gods are grinding.
    They must have some of it.

And the refugees . . . . . .
    Bewildered in mind,
    Besmirched in spirit,
    Despondent . . . . destitute . . . debauched,
    Groping . . .
        Hoping mechanically,
        To find . . . . the Light
    Long since . . . . smothered.
    They must have some of it.

The capitalists, the magnates . . . . . .
    Lolling in Profits
    Stenched with Greed
    Presumptuous with Power!
    Poor
        Petty
            Plutocrats . . . .
    They must have some of the stuff that their dollars have paid for,
    Though they themselves, are bereft.
    Indeed, they must have some of it.

And the Negroes,
    Digging the ditches in Georgia,
    Playing around the cabins in Mississippi,
    Shoveling coal in Ohio,
        Coal, as dark and pitiless as their Fate.

Negroes,
    Stripped and stilled in Sikeston,
    Unmentioned and forgotten at Pearl Harbor,
    Hounded and herded at Alexandria,
        Herded, as sheep in a strange and borrowed pasture.

Negroes,
    Denounced and deprived of Democracy
    Insulted and inveigled in Industry,
    Shunned and shamed in Society,
    Murdered and mangled,
        On the very land for which they must fight!
    They shall have some of it!

—Rhoza Walker

Acme

With the snow-capped Sierra Nevada mountains towering in the background, the concentration camp for Japanese-American citizens and aliens at Manzanar, California, in the Owens Valley, is seen taking shape

Americans in Concentration Camps

By Harry Paxton Howard

OVER 70,000 native Americans, citizens born, are now lodged in concentration camps in the American West, with no criminal charges of any kind against them. No court has found them guilty of any offense against American law; indeed, no formal indictment has ever been drawn up against them. It is acknowledged that the great majority of them are loyal, law-abiding Americans, true to the country of their birth. Some of them have given most useful assistance to the American government against enemy spies and other agents. Even in their present situation, most of them are trying bravely to make the best of things, and are willing to accept the government's explanation of "military necessity."

Why are they there? First of all, because the United States is at war, and the Army has secured tremendous power in national affairs. The hapless citizens who have been deprived of their constitutional rights and constitutional protection have the misfortune to include among their ancestors persons of a non-white country with which the United States is now at war. It is the "non-white" which must be emphasized. American citizens of German, Italian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, or Roumanian ancestry have not been legally discriminated against. It is only our citizens of Japanese ancestry who have been put into concentration camps. They are not "white." They are "not to be trusted."

Color seems to be the only possible reason why thousands of American citizens of Japanese ancestry are in concentration camps. Anyway, there are no Italian-American, or German-American citizens in such camps

There are also some 40,000 "enemy aliens" in the same camps. These aliens also are not "white." If they were "white," the great majority of them would not be aliens at all. Most of them have been in this country over thirty years; their average age is sixty-three years. But they have not been permitted to become American citizens, as they are "Asiatics." During the generation and more that they have been in this country, over a million Germans and Italians have entered the country and been naturalized as American citizens. German Nazis and Italian Fascists are "white"—whatever their politics. But American naturalization laws, as interpreted by the United States supreme court, deny the right of naturalization to Asiatics. So Asiatic immigrants remain "aliens." If we are at war with their homeland, they become "enemy aliens"—including hundreds who fought in the American armed forces in the first world war! They are "aliens" only because America has refused them citizenship.

Italian-American vs. Japanese-American

Along the eastern coast of the United States, where the number of Americans of Japanese ancestry is comparatively small, no concentration camps have been established. From a military viewpoint, the only danger on this coast is from Germany and Italy. Enemy submarines are carrying on a terribly successful war against American shipping along the coast. They have landed agents along the coast, some of whom have been apprehended. But the American government has not taken any such high-handed action against Germans and Italians—and their American-born descendants—on the east coast, as has been taken against Japanese and their American-born descendants on the west coast. Germans and Italians are "white."

Illustrative of the situation, and in some significant ways symbolic, was the great "New York at War" parade on June 13. Mayor LaGuardia, New York's capable and energetic chief executive, was in charge. It was a most spectacular and comprehensive affair, including not only American and Allied forces and delegations but loyal German-Americans and Italian-Americans. It even included Soviet Russians—whose loyalty to the war against Hitlerism dates only from June 22, 1941, when Hitler invaded Russia. Together with our Italian-American mayor on the official reviewing platform were our capable Jewish governor, our "Nordic" vice-president, and the Fascist King of Greece—now transformed, like Stalin, into our "ally." It was both representative and significant.

There was one little omission in the parade. Americans of Japanese ancestry were not permitted to take part. A group of them, of unquestioned loyalty, were turned down flatly while Germans and Italians marched proudly up Fifth avenue. Four members of the American Civil Liberties Union—Miss Florina Lasker, chairman of the New York City committee, Rev. John Paul Jones, Mary Dreier, and Guy Emery Shipler (editor of The Churchman)—sent a shocked and indignant protest to Mayor LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Valentine:

> "We learn with amazement that the committee in charge of the patriotic parade in support of the United Nations on Saturday has refused to permit loyal Japanese-Americans to march, although permitting German-Americans and Italian-Americans to participate. Such discrimination on purely racial grounds is a shocking violation of our democratic professions."

Mayor LaGuardia did not deign to reply. It was, indeed, a somewhat embarrassing question for him. How did it happen that an American of Italian descent should bar Americans of Japanese descent? Their "national" position was precisely similar. And there was no doubt of the loyalty of either. But he was "white" and they were "colored." It made a difference.

Our Concentration Camps

It was at the end of March—almost four months after Pearl Harbor—that the Army started the forcible removal of west coast Japanese and Japanese-Americans to concentration camps. It was not due to some urgent and pressing "present danger"; things were more fully under control along the Pacific Coast than they had ever been before—and far more than they had been during the previous December. It was not due to the sudden shock and hysteria occasioned by Pearl Harbor itself—that had long passed. Neither was it due to any new revelations regarding Japanese espionage or sabotage in American territories; the wild rumors about widespread Japanese sabotage in Hawaii had been officially disproved. The Tolan committee had received an official statement from the Honolulu Chief of Police, W. A. Gabrielson, stating clearly and without qualification: "There were no acts of sabotage committed in the city and country of Honolulu on Dec. 7, nor have there been any acts of sabotage reported to the Police Department since that date. . . . There was no deliberate blocking of the traffic during Dec. 7 or following that date by unauthorized persons."

Possibilities of sabotage, indeed, were pretty well disposed of along the Pacific Coast during the weeks and months after Pearl Harbor. Loyal Americans of Japanese descent, and Japanese residents loyal to their new homeland, had given full cooperation to the American authorities in tracking down Japanese spies and agents along the coast. By the end of March, these creatures seemed to have been pretty well cleaned up. The propagandist Japanese-language schools, which our authorities had permitted to carry on *despite* criticism from democratic Japanese, were at long last closed down. But then, at the end of March, the Army clamped down on the *loyal* Japanese-Americans and put them into concentration camps. (There may be a "moral" to this, but it's not a "good" one; it does not assist the current line that the "Japs" are treacherous.)

Down to March 29, the Western Defense Command under General DeWitt had encouraged voluntary evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the coast into inland states. On that date, however, the command reversed itself; General DeWitt forbade further voluntary evacuation, and ordered persons of Japanese ancestry to stay where they were at the time. Later, they were moved by the Army. They were forced to liquidate their farms and their little businesses at ruinous prices. White speculators, farmers, and business men took over their farms and shops. Second-hand men and junk dealers got the contents of their homes. It was a famous victory.

Though there were only a few hundred of these contemptible profiteering creatures, they were aided by various forces. Race prejudice is still a factor along the coast, and was exploited to the utmost by the foul press—particularly that of Hearst and Otis,—featuring absolutely false statements about "what happened in Hawaii" and the "Yellow Peril." Local politicians had competed with one another in showing their courageous patriotism by reviling the "Japs." The Associated Farmers and Chambers of Commerce cooperated with those of their members who were eager and anxious to plunder their yellow-skinned competitors. And there was widespread ignorance, as large numbers of persons had never come to know any of the Japanese-Americans, and were worked into actual fear and hysteria by the anti-Japanese blasts of the press and radio. Even among the Negroes along the coast, many failed to realize that the issue was basically *racial,* and directly concerned themselves.

The Army was not wholly above these things. If it was immune to the pressure politics of Farmers' Associations and Chambers of Commerce, it was certainly not immune to race prejudice, nor indifferent to the American Legion. Nor was it interested in contradicting the anti-Japanese propaganda of the press and radio, which presumably helped "morale" and the war effort. And it had pretty definite aims of its own—the extension of military authority over as wide a field as possible, supplanting civil authority everywhere the opportunity offered. In Hawaii with its great colored majority, which has never been given State's rights and still remains a territory, the Army obtained absolute powers from the President on December 7, since which time the military dictatorship there has extended even to the criminal courts. Army authority, it should be added, is Federal authority.

"Protective" Custody

There was, however, another factor present in March. Army and Federal government officials, in private conversations, expressed real apprehension of Japanese reprisals against American prisoners-of-war if Japanese were lynched in the United States. The increasingly rabid fury of anti-Japanese invective, and the murderous howling of the "Vigilantes" for yellow meat, seemed to presage some terrible outbursts. Lynchings had to be prevented; for this, it was necessary to herd Japanese and

Japanese-Americans into concentration camps—"for their own protection." A high official in Washington said gravely to a representative of the Federal Council of Churches: "It is a sad commentary on the American way of life when we find it necessary to put American citizens behind barbed wire in order to protect them."

There was, certainly, direct association between the Army's moves and the war situation in the Far East. On March 25, the Japanese had launched their final overwhelming drive against the Filipino and American defenders of Bataan—half-starved, most of them sick and without medicines, watching daily for reinforcements and supplies which never arrived. The government knew the end was near; MacArthur had already left for Australia; by March 26 it was clear that Bataan could not last another two weeks—though the soldiers were not told this. On March 29 came the Army's order on the west coast, reversing its previous orders and forbidding further voluntary evacuation. Members of General DeWitt's staff gave as a reason his fear lest the evacuees suffer physical violence on account of the strong hostility to them in many communities east of the First Military Area. Events on Bataan soon made clear why this fear developed at that particular moment. By April 10, several thousand sick and starving American prisoners were in Japanese hands—and several times that number of Filipino prisoners.

If General DeWitt's idea was really to protect Japanese-Americans from their white fellow-citizens, he must be given due credit. It must be noted, however, that this laudable impulse does not seem to have developed until it became certain that the Japanese would soon have thousands of American prisoners in their hands—upon whom reprisals might be taken. The lynchings of yellow Americans would be no light matter if it were countered by shootings of white American prisoners by the Japanese. Japanese-Americans had to be protected —not for their own sakes, but for the protection of American soldiers in Japanese hands. The Japanese now had American hostages for *our* good behavior.

There was, indeed, another way out. The government, with its thousands of official censors and propagandists, could have clamped down on the Hitler-like racial fury of the anti-Japanese press, could have given wide circulation to the facts regarding Pearl Harbor and the splendid loyalty of most Americans of Japanese descent, could have emphasized Secretary Hull's official statement that he expected the Japanese reply to his note of November 26 to be "war," could have stressed the fact that Washington had notified Hawaii on November 27 that negotiations with Japan "had ended" and that an attack was to be expected at any time. But this would have gone counter to the official propaganda about "Jap treachery," and might not have helped war morale. So, instead, we slapped the "Japs" into concentration camps—for the protection of American soldiers in Japanese hands. So our Army also got some "prisoners"—and hostages.

Acme

These Japanese girls—as typically American as any in the land—are shown cleaning out debris from their concentration camp barracks

Filth and Squalor

If the Army's aim was the protection of Japanese-Americans, this aim seems to have been forgotten as soon as the evacuees were got into the pleasantly-named "reception centers" and "assembly centers." They were treated as dangerous aliens, and their accommodation was of the worst. The Army was in charge, and it was almost impossible to obtain permits to leave; the Army accused evacuees of "trying to escape" (from "protection!"). Ten thousand or more persons would be confined to an area of less than a square mile, sometimes surrounded by barbed wire and always by armed guards. At Manzanar and some other centers the guards would not permit parcels—soap, clothing, shoes, baby things—to be brought into the camp. For a long time such urgent necessities as goggles—to keep dust from the eyes in windy and semi-desert centers—could not be brought in.

There was no direct torture. It was an American, not a Nazi, concentration camp. Some of the older inhabitants—most of the Japanese-born were over sixty—suffered from insufficiency of their customary rice. Persons accustomed to daily bathing and the most scrupulous cleanliness found it "troublesome" to live in filth, lacking tubs, buckets, washing machines, or sufficient soap. Perpetually dusty and dirty eyes were painful and "troublesome." Babies found unwashed diapers painful as well as odorous. Parents suffered as their children sickened and died, living in a filth and squalor such as neither they nor their ancestors had known within their long memories. But there was no "torture."

Not all the evacuees were yellow. There were some white and other non-Japanese—mostly women married to Japanese-Americans. And some of the Japanese-Americans were not more than one-eighth Japanese, owing to intermarriage. But a "Jap" was anyone with traceable Japanese blood—just as Hitler's "Jews" means anyone with traceable Jewish blood. A Japanese grandfather is as valuable to an American in California as a Jewish grandfather to a German in Berlin—or a Negro grandfather in Atlanta. Some of the women—Americans of Japanese descent—were separated from non-Japanese husbands who could not or would not make the sacrifice of following them into bondage.

Housing conditions vary in the different camps. Usually the houses are long barracks, with a single community toilet and laundry for a block of houses with hundreds of persons. At Manzanar and some other centers, the houses are built of rough lumber; dust seeps in continuously. At Manzanar there are two to three families, or eight to ten persons, to a room—assigned regardless of age or sex. The population density of Manzanar is about 30,000 persons per square mile—equal to that in Metropolitan New York.

There is no running water in houses in most of the camps. At Manzanar only two of the twelve blocks of houses have hot showers in the community toilet, and hot water for dishwashing. For weeks, there were almost no laundry and washing facilities—in a dusty and windy area, for a people accustomed to daily bathing at all times. At Puyallup, to the north, there was one small washroom for every 250 persons; an endless line was standing and waiting at all times—in a broiling sun most of the day, and with no shade. It is not so dusty at Puyallup. The dirt does not come through the walls, but from the ground. The shacks are laid flat on the ground, and mud oozes up through the floors during and after the frequent rains. But the roof is only plank plus tarpaper, so the sun soon bakes the mud—and the inmates. Sometimes the sewage-disposal pipes break, and the sewage flows down the streets. Children play in the filth—they must play somewhere. But there is no "torture."

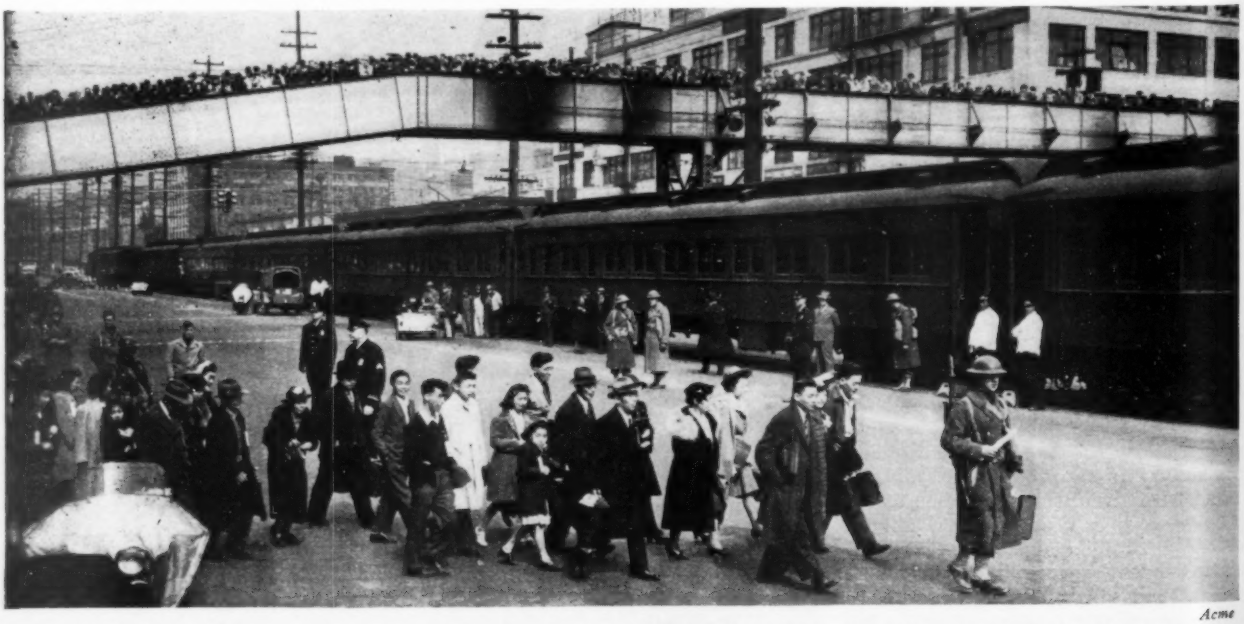
Food is adequate. Anyway, no one has died of starvation. But some old persons, accustomed to rice and vegetables, cannot digest stale bread and canned wieners and beans. Tea is their great solace—but some of them cannot drink it when it is dosed with saltpeter, as is done at Camp Harmony and some other "resorts." Also, some of them find it difficult to stand in line for half an hour or more, in the long mealtime queues, out in the rain with their feet in the mud, or in the fierce sun farther south, waiting for their miserable portions of canned foods. They grew beautiful vegetables, of course. But other persons are eating them—when they are being eaten. Sometimes the patriotic whites who grabbed their farms simply plowed the vegetable crops under, not knowing how to handle them.

It Concerns the Negro

What has happened to these Amercans in recent months is of direct concern to the American Negro. For the barbarous treatment of these Americans is the result of the color line. This cannot be too often repeated or too clearly understood. These men, women, and children have been taken from their pleasant homes and long-cultivated farms and businesses because their skins are yellow and their eyes have the tell-tale Mongolian eyefold. Americans of German or Italian descent are not being discriminated against. Wendell Willkie and Fiorella LaGuardia are not being stuck into filthy and noisome shacks in vile concentration camps because they are of German and Italian ancestry; they are white. Old Germans and Italians who have lived in the United States for a generation are not being discriminated against; they are white, and most of them are citizens. Even the Germans and Italians who have reached these shores during the past twenty years are not treated as "enemies." Many of them, in fact, are giving loyal service to their adopted country; these services are welcomed. They are white.

Negroes have been told again and again: "Work quietly, be industrious, mind your own business, and you will get justice even in America." That is what these yellow-skinned Americans believed. They worked, cheerfully and industriously. They turned deserts into beautiful and fertile farm-land, grew

(*Continued on page* 301)



Acme

Japanese from Bainbridge Island marching to a train under the eyes of soldiers and police, bound for Manzanar, California, the principal concentration camp for Japanese evacuated from the west coast. Note relatives and friends lining the viaduct

To Be or Not to Be a Liberal

By Louis E. Martin

The present world revolution has touched the American Negro, and his white liberal friends who would have him content himself with the status quo are asking the impossible, says this writer

MANY Negroes feel today somewhat like President Roosevelt did a few years ago when in his political machinations he was driven to the plight of having to beg to be delivered from his friends. It is a truism that friendship, in reference to the Negro, as popularly conceived by southern whites, is a very disconcerting attribute on occasion. In the first place the word friendship implies an emotional state and does not necessarily derive its being from right reasons. If this observation may seem unkind, it may be because the word friendship has been abused in the sphere of race relations.

Within the last few weeks two prominent southern white friends who are genuine enough have become alarmed at what they regard an extreme movement among Negroes for social justice and equality. Furthermore, they have also had occasion to indulge in apologetics and to explain their reputation of friendship for the black minority to a reactionary movement rising to counteract Negro advancement. Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times Dispatch* and Mark Ethridge of the Louisville *Courier Journal,* both of whom are enlightened voices of the southern white press, have apparently suffered some abuse at the hands of their bigoted fellow southerners who do not share their avowed friendship for the Negro people. In attempting to explain his liberalism, Mark Ethridge made a speech at the opening of the Birmingham hearings of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee which sought to justify his friendship for Negroes to the southern whites who are acutely conscious of the dangers to their status in the present war of liberation.

Writing in the July 4 issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature* on the question of the Press and Morale, Virginius Dabney stated that "the degree to which this injustice and discrimination is being emphasized by Negro editors and other Negro leaders at this time and the insistence with which they are demanding an immediate revolution in race relations in America is arousing no little concern among their white friends. These liberal-minded whites concede that many grievances of the blacks should be corrected, and they concede, further, that the Negro's disabilities are often the fault of the white, but they cannot view with other than apprehension the speed with which Negro leadership as exemplified in the Negro press is pushing matters." In the same connection, he states further: "Explosions of serious proportions both North and South will be well nigh inevitable, if present tendencies continue, and race relations probably will be set back for decades in consequence."

Negro Is Skeptical

Certainly any student of race relations in America recognizes the great contributions to Negro advancement that have been made by Virginius Dabney, Mark Ethridge and others of their liberal stripe. One can not quarrel with their belief in the ultimate solution of the race problem in America through peaceful and evolutionary processes. It is in no spirit of petty sniping that some of us, at least, feel it necessary to indicate the tenuousness of their heavy judgments.

Both Mark Ethridge and Virginius Dabney have had occasion to express regret over the so-called revolutionary views of some leaders and particularly the Negro press in this hour of world crisis. However, these white liberals will freely admit that on the whole, the Negro newspapers are reflecting the attitudes of the Negro people throughout America. In some quarters the loyalty of the Negro masses to the United States is being discussed for the first time in history. No responsible student of Negro affairs, however, has found any evidence anywhere that indicates either disloyalty or treason. It is an established fact, nevertheless, that the Negro is frankly skeptical of our sincerity in our announced war aims which are summed up in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt, and the recent speeches of Henry Wallace and Sumner Welles, all proclaiming that we are fighting for the liberation of all peoples and all admitting that this second world war is essentially a revolution. It is sheer folly to believe that any racial group with a background in America similar to that of the Negro would not reflect the same attitudes.

The sudden demand for equality and social justice is not so sudden to any one cognizant of the development of the Negro masses in the last half a century. The southern Negro, who is dominated day and night by mortal fear, even as the subject peoples of the Nazi Reich, has been logically enough less articulate than his comparatively freer brothers above the Mason-Dixon line. It is easier to trace the Negro's thinking in the North because of his less circumscribed status. One of the early portents of the present so-called revolutionary state of mind of the Negro was the political swing of the masses from the aegis of Republicanism to greener pastures in the Democratic party. While this surprised many friends of the Negro and, particularly those who knew him so well, this movement was inevitable under the circumstances.

Not Content with Evolution

One grave error in the thinking of those friends who championed his minor causes was the assumption that a dynamic social group would be content with or constrained to follow an ordered pattern of evolutionary progress. Not only the Negro people in America, but many millions of people everywhere have arrived at a critical juncture in social development which requires a new course of action and a new line of social thinking. The present world conflict represents a bursting of bonds of one kind or another which has had repercussions among all of us. The Negro people in America are not isolated and immune to the new social concepts which play so large a part in the present world revolution.

It is a mistake to believe that the Negro leaders and the Negro press are pushing matters to a climax in America. For it is the Negro masses in the South as well as in the North whose souls have been stirred and who refuse to follow the more polite processes of uncomplaining evolution. As a matter of fact, no Negro newspaper in America dares to report the actual confusion and disillusionment of this great minority. While Negroes are without hate, many of them are filled with resentment and despair. They want to feel that this is their war and that their contribution to the war will also be a contribution to their own liberation. The mounting bigotry of white America reflected in farm, field and factory as well as in the armed forces of the nation clouds this hope and obscures their vision. The most enlightened leadership among the Negro people recognizes that this is not a white man's war and that the destiny of the race is linked with the democracies and that all will be lost in an Axis victory. This leadership must plow through the hard ground of universal and ubiquitous discrimination. The leadership is determined to work out the problems of the race within the framework of democracy and they insist that democracy must be attained at all costs.

Want Citizenship Equality

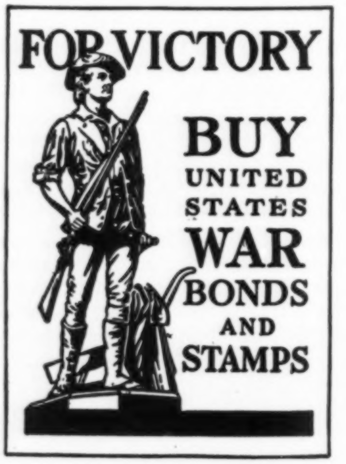
One great source of confusion is that apparently no clear understanding exists of what the Negro wants and is demanding. Regardless of how Negro leaders and others frame their objectives and clothe their messages, the stream into which all of their arguments converge is full and unconditional equality of citizenship. The Negro recognizes that he is a second-class citizen and that status is fraught with violent potentialities, particularly today when he is living up to the full responsibilities of citizenship on the field of battle. It has been said that men will willingly die for those things worth dying for. The dim, distant hope of equality of citizenship through an ill-considered evolutionary process is empty and ominous.

The white friends of the Negro who are blind to the depths of his spirit and who do not recognize the significance of this world revolution of which they speak are being rudely awakened. The Negro knows that fundamental democratic justice is on his side as well as the expediency of this war. Mark Ethridge stated in his Birmingham speech that all the armed might of the Axis and the Allies cannot force the South to give up social segregation now. Such a silly threat was unnecessary and dangerous. The finality of his utterance looms as a challenge which may be accepted by those who know that there can be no equality of citizenship under a separate system of social segregation. The explosions to which Mr. Dabney referred as inevitable if the present trend continues arouse no fear in the hearts of many Negroes. It is indeed unfortunate that such great friends of the Negro should blind themselves to the fact that America nor the South cannot isolate itself from the world revolution. The democratic forces at work in the world today will not be easily appeased. Already the administration recognizes that the revolution has struck our shores. Social tradition and social patterns of all peoples are in one vast crucible of war and it is folly to believe that ours can and shall be spared.

Many liberals, unlike Ethridge, Dabney and their like who are without sentiment and emotion, are fearlessly facing the facts. They are aware of the necessity for America to take an unequivocal position on the question of equality of all peoples in order to assure a democratic victory and a democratic peace afterwards. The status of the Negro in America is a symbol to the whole world of the failure of democracy in a country whose history entitles it to the leadership of world democracy.

Threats Are Meaningless

While the liberals may quibble with Gandhi's statement that we have no moral right to wage a war for democracy as long as we maintain the color bar, they recognize that the color bar must be abolished as speedily as is humanly possible. The American Negro is becoming aware of his unique position in the colored world and he is no longer deluded by the myths of white supremacy. He is acutely conscious of his own potentialities and of his own inferior status. The overtones of the world revolution have intensified his sense of injustice and broadened his horizon. No threats, implied or explicit, can now stem the tide of social unrest today when war is the instrument for world deliverance.



INVEST IN VICTORY!

Our boys can take the War to the enemy, if we back them up with ships and tanks and guns! But that takes money!

Help your Government to put the tools of war into the hands of our soldiers by purchasing War Savings Bonds and Stamps. And remember . . . just one Bond can't lick the Axis any more than just one gun! It takes millions of Americans buying War Savings Bonds and Stamps every pay day!

Bonds cost $18.75 and up . . . and they pay you back one-third more in only 10 years! Stamps cost 10¢, 25¢, and up . . . soon total the price of a Bond if bought regularly.

Help our boys on the fighting fronts wherever they may be! Buy War Savings Bonds as an investment for yourself and your country.

The friends of the Negro who are alarmed at this inevitable development already are speaking of post-war conflicts. It is unfortunate that they will not face the crux of the problem and work toward the fulfillment of democracy without fear of its consequences. The Talmadge mind-set that dominates southern thought and which is afraid of the very ends for which the war is being fought is the most serious internal menace that our country has ever known.

The "cracker" Fascists who are victims of their own racial myths are desperately attempting to cripple, as their fathers before them have crippled, a great part of the human resources of the nation. Too many of them are asking why win the war from the Japs abroad and lose it to the "niggers" at home. History and tradition combine to form a bulwark for native fascism that is no less dangerous than that of Hitler. When the Negro's white friends seek to appease these forces against which democracy does not now prevail they must suffer as all appeasers must in war and revolution.

The role of the true liberal, who is neither friend nor foe of the Negro people, but who believes in the principles of democracy which are everywhere professed, is an heroic and revolutionary role. Such a liberal knows neither Jew, Negro, nor foreign-born but champions the "unalienable rights" of all people. The true liberal must transcend considerations of color and creed and seek to overthrow tradition and make this war truly a war of universal liberation. The goddess of liberty is a jealous goddess and she abhors a faint heart.

Black and White

I'm from Harlem, New York.
My skin is black.
I stole a pair of shoes for my kid.
My little girl didn't have a pair of shoes.
I had to get her a pair.

My skin is black, and I couldn't even get
a job
Cleaning white men's toilets.
I stole a pair of shoes for my kid.
"I see here", said the judge,
"Where you didn't steal these shoes to
sell;
"You stole them to wear.
"Thirty days in the work house."

I'm from Harlem,
And I'm from the workhouse.
If my kid needs a pair of shoes again,
What am I to do?

—Carl Colodne.

First Ladies of Colored America

Throughout American history colored women have played a most significant role in the development of our civilization. Because their early ties with Africa were abruptly severed (unlike those of their white sisters with Europe) and because their greater struggle for survival compelled a speedier adaptation to the new life here, they have placed their imprint indelibly on our national life. They are the chief repository of Anglo-Saxon culture. Some students even hold that if every white person were to disappear from the United States, it would continue culturally to be Anglo-Saxon with, of course, the softening and sophisticated touch of Africa.

The colored woman is responsible to a large degree for the rapid adaptation of black folk to American life, for she conveyed to the less favored male what she learned by closer association with the best that the civilized white minority had to offer. Indeed, the colored woman has been a more potent factor in shaping Negro society than the white woman has been in shaping white society because the sexual caste system has been much more fluid and ill-defined than among whites. Colored women have worked *with* their men and helped build and maintain every institution we have. Without their economic aid and counsel we would have made little if any progress. Equality of the sexes is an old story in Negro life. Aframerica is even a matriarchy.

Through the church, fraternal organizations, parent-teacher associations, NAACP branches and various social groups, our women have welded a weak and divided people into a more compact, harmonious and increasingly powerful group. They rank high in individual achievement in all fields, but so persistent is the early pattern of male precedence in American thinking that too often the recognition due women has been withheld or given grudgingly and patronizingly.

It is the purpose of the photographic series which begins on the following pages and will continue indefinitely, to correct this imbalance by presenting each month four colored women of recognized ability and accomplishment who have contributed much to the progress of civilization in America. THE CRISIS must perforce make the appraisal and selection. Space imposes a severe limitation upon us, so the failure of anyone to be recognized here does not imply that her achievements have not been outstanding.

Again, it is obvious that there will be more selections from the city than from the country and more from the North, East and West than from the South. Many outstanding women have migrated from the South to other parts of the nation where greater opportunities have heretofore existed. However, we plan to leave no state unrecognized. Our choice will be catholic, our criteria national or sectional fame.

Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL, when appointed to the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, became the first colored woman in the world to hold such a position. She served for eleven years

A graduate of Oberlin College, which granted her both the A.B. and A.M. degrees, Mrs. Terrell was honored by that school at the celebration of its one hundredth anniversary as one of its "one hundred most famous alumni."

Mrs. Terrell spent three years in Europe, studying in France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. She taught in Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, two years and in the High School for Colored Youth in Washington, D. C., two years.

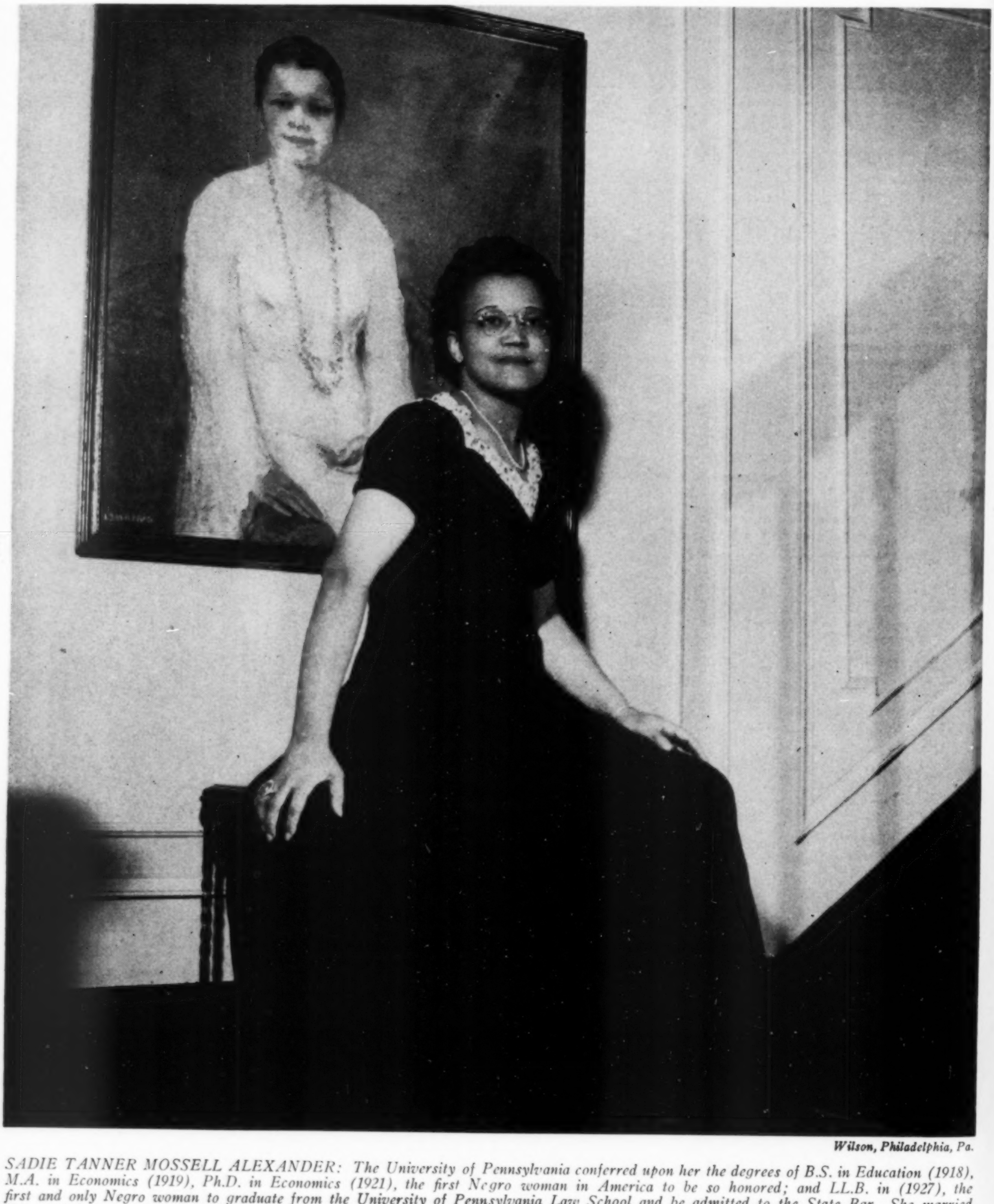
Mrs. Terrell was the first president of the National Association of Colored Women and at the expiration of her term was appointed honorary president for life. She has represented colored women abroad three times: at the International Congress of Women, in Berlin in 1904; at the International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1919, and in London, in 1937, at the World Fellowship of Faiths. Mrs. Terrell has served as secretary of the Race Relations Committee of the Washington Federation of Churches and is now treasurer of the Interracial Committee. She is the author of the autobiography, A Colored Woman in a White World, *and is also a charter member of the N.A.A.C.P.*

MISS EARTHA M. M. WHITE is a native and resident of Jacksonville, Florida, a graduate of Florida Normal Institute and holds the degree of doctor of humanity

Miss White is a pioneer social worker into whose care, the Federal government, at the close of the last war, entrusted outstanding Federal projects for social betterment among Negroes.

Among the institutions which Miss White has promoted and heads are the Clara White Mission (named for her mother who worked with her), an agency for the care of orphans and child placement where the needy are fed, clothed, sheltered and trained for useful employment, and the "Old Folks' Home," where fifty aged persons are given residence.

Miss White is a member of the Bethel Baptist Church, a pioneer Federated Club woman, having served as treasurer of the state federation for years. She is one of the founders of the National Association of Colored Women and is a member of the National Council of Negro women.



Wilson, Philadelphia, *Pa.*

SADIE TANNER MOSSELL ALEXANDER: The University of Pennsylvania conferred upon her the degrees of B.S. in Education (1918), M.A. in Economics (1919), Ph.D. in Economics (1921), the first Negro woman in America to be so honored; and LL.B. in (1927), the first and only Negro woman to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania Law School and be admitted to the State Bar. She married Raymond Pace Alexander in November, 1923, and has been associated in the practice of law with him since 1927. She served eight years as assistant solicitor of Philadelphia (1927–31; 1936–40), and is an outstanding authority on wills and estates, appearing before all courts of jurisdiction, including the State Supreme Court. She is a lay representative of the A. M. E. Church (of which her grandfather was Bishop) to the Federal Council of Churches, and secretary of the Board of the National Urban League. She holds directorships in the Armstrong Association, the Wharton Settlement, the Philadelphia Institute for Household Occupations, the Fellowship House, the State Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Benezet Committee. She was first national president of Delta Sigma Theta, serving five years; is chairman of the Interracial Committee of Philadelphia U. S. O. and member of the Local U. S. O. Council

Wallace, Toledo, O.

MRS. CONSTANCE RIDLEY HESLIP was born in Boston, Massachusetts, and attended the public schools in Brookline, Massachusetts. Her college work was done at Simmons College, Boston, where she later became a resident worker in the Robert Gould Shaw House, an interracial settlement house. She was its first colored head resident, a position in which she served three years.

In 1927 she married Attorney Jesse S. Heslip. Since that time she has been a resident of Toledo, Ohio, where in 1928 she became the first woman member of the Toledo Board of the Y.W.C.A. In 1931 she joined the faculty of the University of Toledo in the department of sociology, teaching a course in "Race Relations in America." She has just completed her eleventh year in this position.

Mrs. Heslip is on the national board of the Y.W.C.A., a member of Gov. Bricker's Commission on Employment Problems of the Negro in Ohio, on the Committee on Race Relations of the Toledo Council of Churches, and a board member of the Toledo Consumers' League. She is also the treasurer of the Toledo branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and a member of Delta Sigma Theta sorority.

Let's Get Ten Thousand!

By Gloster B. Current

Detroit tells the story of how it secured 11,698 members, the largest branch membership in the history of the NAACP

"RAISE sand, and more sand, and MORE SAND!"—these vigorous words spoken by Dr. James J. McClendon, president, Detroit branch, N.A.A.C.P., at the 1942 convention of the association in Los Angeles, were the formula for the success of the branch's recent membership drive which netted 11,698 members and $13,775.

This phenomenally successful campaign was not an accident. Now placed in N.A.A.C.P. annals as the greatest in history, the drive was preceded by thirty-one years of "sand-raising," aggressive activity, a nation-wide and international issue, and months of concentrated planning.

Early History of Branch

In 1902 there were approximately two thousand Negroes in Detroit and practically no color bar. The influx of Negroes from the south during the next eight years brought attendant problems which were reflected in a change of attitude by native white Detroiters.

Early in the year 1910, the change in race relations prompted Eugene Marshall to call Dr. A. H. Johnson, Albert Bass, Edgar L. Moore, Walter Johnson, A. Brusard, and William C. Osby to a meeting at the old Douglass Institute (now the *Detroit Tribune* building), located at the corner of St. Antoine and Columbian streets. These men, under the leadership of Eugene Marshall, and shortly thereafter, William C. Osby, formed the *Vigilant Committee,* which carried on protestations in behalf of Negroes for one year.

In 1911, Father Robert W. Bagnall came to Detroit to assume the rectorship of St. Mathews Episcopal church. He joined the *Vigilant Committee*. Sensing the need for cooperation with other organizations throughout the country whose aims were similar, he urged them to affiliate with the N.A.A.C.P.

The branch has a fighting history. During the early years it fought discrimination in public places. A restaurant case was carried to the supreme court and won. It was the association which obtained a written opinion from the Corporation Counsel's office that under the state law, citizens of color could not be refused accommodations in public places. This preceded the Diggs Civil Rights Act, and, printed in all of the daily papers, had the salutary effect of eliminating for a while the "we do not serve colored here" phrase.

The People versus Ossian H. Sweet, Otis Sweet, Henry Sweet, Morris Murray, William E. Davis, Joe Mack, John Latting, Leonard E. Morris, Hewitt Watson, Charles Washington, and Gladys Sweet, better known as the historic Sweet case, focused nation-wide attention on the militancy of Negroes in Detroit. "The question," said Arthur Garfield Hays in 1926 in his opening to the jury, "is not what a white man in a city of whites would do under certain circumstances. The question is what a colored man, a reasonable colored man, with his knowledge of the prejudice against him because of his color; with his knowledge that people had threatened to bomb his home and kill him if he moved into the neighborhood; with his knowledge that there was a society of men (a so-called Improvement Association) formed for the purpose of ejecting him from his home; with his knowledge of what mobs do and have done to colored people when they have the power; with his knowledge of history, his knowledge of psychology; with his apprehension and fear from the facts as they appear to him, would do."

The question was decided and won. The Sweets were freed. The arguments of Clarence Darrow, chief counsel, will long be remembered. Yet, sixteen years later, "the question" arose again in an "issue" of international proportions. Rome, Berlin, Tokio radios told the world that the rights of Negroes in a democracy to occupy Sojourner Truth Homes, a two-hundred-unit Federal War Housing project, planned, named and built for Negroes, were contested by a mob of unruly whites. This time militant colored and white citizens, led by Rev. Charles A. Hill, an N.A.A.C.P. board member, and other militant organizations, conducted a brilliant campaign against subversive organizations, an unenlightened and misguided minority, real estate interests, the Ku Klux Klan and the National Workers League. Rev. Hill and the Sojourner Truth Citizen's Committee, remembering the statement of Arthur Garfield Hays, were determined that, for once, "the question" would not

Office force aids Daisy Lampkin in campaign. Left to right: Mae Kendrick, Thelma Holland, Gloster Current, Daisy Lampkin, Leontine Current, Mable Hill, Jonathan Roach

Pancas of 1942 campaign: Harrison M. Williams, Mrs. Emma J. Watson, Fred Green, Mrs. Wilhelmina Brown, Mrs. Carrie B. Riley, Mrs. Esther Lowe, Miss Rosalie Barrett, Mrs. Celillus Curry, Mrs. Bethel Langston, Dr. W. A. Thompson, Mrs. Beulah Carter, Mrs. Eva Sweeney, Mrs. Myrtle Cook, Dr. J. J. McClendon, Charles Archie, Mrs. Kate Smith, Mrs. Ruth Ellis, D. G. Harris, Peter Craig, Jr., Mrs. Margaret Nance, Mrs. C. M. Smedley, Mrs. W. A. Thompson, Mrs. Ardelia Heath, W. J. Swanson, Mrs. Clara Banks, Mrs. Irene McClendon, Primus Lightsey, Mrs. Mildred Croff, Miss Rachel Terry, Mrs. Audie Burns, Mrs. Mamie Jammison, Mrs. Cora Keller, Mrs. Mattie Mills, Mrs. Florence Schumake, Hudson Willis, Otto Collier, Mrs. Jessie Rogers, Mrs. Odetta White, Gloster B. Current, Gatline Dixon, Thomas Johnson, Ezell Bowie, Mrs. Lottie Ryan, C. H. Cooper, Mrs. Cassie Morris, Dr. C. G. Constable, John H. Burns, Prince Clark, Mrs. Julia Critz, W. Barton Beatty, Walter Kendrick, Charles Simmons, L. A. Smith, Mrs. Irene Woods, Mrs. M. M. Logan, Rev. J. W. McCreary, Jeff Poser. Note: Pancas listed as they became Pancas, not as seated in picture. Pancas are those who attained or exceeded their assigned quotas in membership campaigns

be answered by an Improvement Association.

The backbone of the Sojourner Truth Citizen's Committee was the N.A.A.C.P. which furnished the initial funds, lent its office and equipment, banked the moneys, loaned its efficient treasurer, Mrs. Mamie L. Thompson, and served in innumerable capacities until the fight was won.

Throughout the duration of the Sojourner Truth fight, which lasted from January 15 until April 29, 1942, when the families were moved into the project, it was apparent to everyone that a stronger and more powerful organization was needed to fight the ever-encroaching race prejudice in Detroit. Determined that this first taste of blood for double victory would eventually bring triumph over fascist forces in Detroit, the people indicated that the first step in rearmament for progress must be redoubling the strength of the N.A.A.C.P. and they joined enthusiastically in the drive.

Campaign Carefully Planned

The stage was set! "We the people" were ready to work. With the basis for a successful campaign apparent, only a working organization was necessary. This the membership committee under the chairmanship of Ernest Marshall had foreseen. With a map of the distribution of members throughout the city at their disposal, the committee pored over plans, suggestions and ideas for a new kind of membership drive.

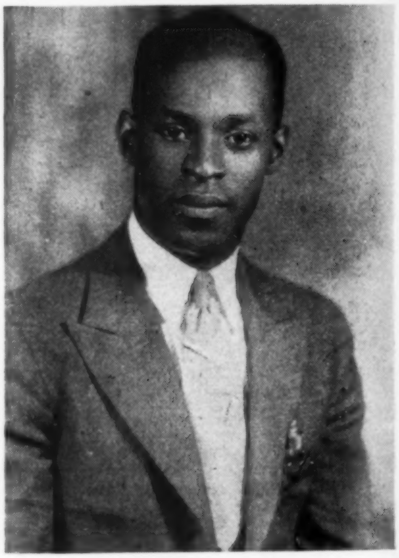
A study of the '41 membership campaign was presented to the committee. This study, made with the assistance of a WPA Worker's Service Information project, showed that N.A.A.C.P. members lived in six concentrated Detroit areas. Of the 149,000 Negroes in Metropolitan Detroit, 6,000 belonged to the N.A.A.C.P. in 1941. A comparison with other years showed that on the average two thousand failed to renew each year. The difference was made up in new members written by enthusiastic workers. The map of distribution of membership was plotted to illustrate the areas in which membership was concentrated and localities which needed strengthening.

April was a busy preparatory month. A month of "pre-campaign" activity was outlined. The committee set up a working calendar and began to call larger meetings to discuss and review the tentative plans. The calendar called for "pre-campaign" letters, contacts with organized labor groups: postal employees, industrial workers, transportation operators, packing house workers, etc. It called for weekly meetings of the entire membership committee, now enlarged to include last year's captains and workers as well as newly enlisted workers. All had a share in the planning of the campaign.

Cognizant of the need for enlarging the campaign superstructure, the enlarged campaign committee set out to

James

Top: Rev. Charles Hill, leader of the Navy division, speaking to some of his workers. Right: Prince Clark, chairman of the Labor division in the drive, member of UAW-CIO, Local 2. He is also chairman of the branch labor committee, composed of key representatives of the CIO and AF of L, which meets each Sunday at the St. Antoine YMCA. Mr. Clark has represented labor at the past four national conventions of the NAACP



create two new divisions. This was not an easy task. Detroit's campaigns have generally followed the pattern of two major divisions, each a bitter rival of the other. For years the teams within these divisions, usually the *Army* and *Navy*, have waged an undeclared war against each other. This intense rivalry can easily account for some of the high productiveness of teams in the campaign. Each year there have been several teams that produced more than three hundred members, and, at least two that produced five hundred.

The committee solved its dilemma by creating the *Labor* and *Air Corps* divisions. Only one team was removed from the old divisions and placed with *Labor*. Prince Clark, chairman of the Labor committee, the captain whose team status was changed, became division leader of *Labor*. From a labor team to a labor division was quite a task, especially when competing on an equal level with two seasoned divisions like the *Army* and *Navy*—yet, *Labor* delivered.

The *Air Corps* was a miscellaneous division composed of an Interracial group, Large Gift committee, Youth, and Block. The Interracial group was an innovation. It was designed to enlist the support of interested white liberals who hitherto had not been associated with N.A.A.C.P. membership drives; social workers, wives of politicians, school teachers, and others interested in the program of the association willingly joined this division.

The Block System

The block division resulted from the aforementioned survey. Out of this study was born the block canvass idea, a procedure used frequently in Community Chest, Red Cross and similar campaigns, but never adopted by the N.A.A.C.P. Poring over the membership files, a block by block breakdown was made and the members listed according to address. For example in a sample block on Orleans street, we had:

Block Sheet

Block	Street	Number	Name of member	Telephone
1300	ORLEANS	1329	Richard Anderson Bertha Anderson	
1400	"	——	——————	
1700	"	1700	Henry J. Hare	Cl. 1279
1900	"	1901 1926	General B. McDuffie Mrs. Rosa Raiford	* *
2100	"	2144	Mrs. Julia Frazier	*
2200	"	2231	Thomas Crawford	*
3700	"	3743	Theodore R. Azee	

Checking with the city directory it was easy to determine whether the member had a telephone (denoted by *) or not. This and any other pertinent information was placed beside the member's name.

The sample block shown illustrates the findings relative to every block surveyed. On the average there was only one member in each block. If this member could be induced to solicit in his block, tangible increase would result. For the purposes of the 1942 campaign, in which this type of soliciting was used on an experimental scale, an area on the lower East Side, which usually yielded few memberships, was selected. This small area was in the heart of town. A visit to the members shown on block sheets or a telephone call found a willing response. The member was, in most cases, "willing to try" being a campaigner for the N.A.A.C.P. In only one or two cases had the member worked in a campaign before.

The telephone and mails were used. A telephone call to the worker, a verbal promise to work, a signed pledge sent through the mails, a package of five or ten envelopes, and the job was done. During the campaign many calls to the office came from block workers reporting, asking for information, and in numerous ways entering into the spirit of the campaign. One hundred and fifty block workers brought in seven hundred members. The block organization plan proved to be successful and better organization by neighborhoods in future campaigns will help to secure a broader coverage by campaign workers.

Selection of Leaders

Divisional leaders were selected. Chosen for the *Navy*, because of his tenacity, dynamic spirit, and rallying leadership, was Rev. Charles A. Hill, hero of Sojourner Truth. To oppose him the women demanded that Mrs. Mildred Groff, postal employee, prominent church and Y.W.C.A. worker be given the key post in the *Army*. *Labor* lined up behind Prince Clark and the *Air Corps*, which included the experimental block division, became the responsibility of the executive secretary. Leaders within this division were: Miss Shirley Edloff and Miss Nellie Watts, prominent school teachers, Interracial; Moses L. Walker, insurance executive, and Mrs. Anna Dempsey, Large gifts; and Miss Alma Strong, Youth.

The campaign was scheduled to open May 24. Material was to be distributed May 20. Due to the war production schedule, the *Labor* division demanded its material early. A wire to the national office asked 20,000 envelopes. The request was unprecedented, but Detroit meant business. Instead of distributing material on May 20, as planned, the distribution began three weeks earlier. By May 20, 6,000 envelopes had been placed in the hands of workers. By May 22 an additional 4,000. The office emphasized the early signing of captains and workers' pledges, while lists of members secured in the 1941 campaign were given to the individual workers, enabling them to renew members which they had written previously.

James

Dr. James J. McClendon presenting awards to Pancas

Publicity

"LET'S GET TEN THOUSAND!" This slogan was echoed on 700 posters, 5,000 automobile stickers, a quarter page "ad" in three weekly newspapers, over two radio programs (one nightly announcement during the campaign) and in 300 street cars. Publicity was the fifth division of the campaign and it produced. People read the advertisement in the newspapers and mailed in the coupon for a membership. Others saw the alternate red and blue posters in the street cars on seven different lines which carried large colored traffic. The educational value of the street car poster for whites was invaluable. Carrying the message of "On Guard for Democracy" it pointed out the thirty-three year fight of the Association and urged in appealing terms for members. The Interracial Good Will Hour over Station WJLB and Leroy G. White's broadcast over WJBK also brought results. Speakers' bureaus covered the churches each Sunday morning announcing the campaign and attended numerous plant committee meetings throughout the week enlisting the support of labor. Sunday, May 24, was proclaimed N.A.A.C.P. Sunday in the churches and ministers appointed workers within the church to secure memberships.

Publicity told the story not only during the campaign but before. The weekly mimeographed press releases issued by the branch during the past year had telling effect. Two months before the opening campaign the releases began to build up to the drive with pictures, stories, and news items. No membership committee meeting went unpublicized. Pictures of "Pancas," of chairmen, of captains, of division leaders, of awards; all found their way to the local press via the release. The editors were cooperative. In answer to a written request, simultaneous with the opening of the campaign, they wrote stirring editorials on joining the organization. One editor not only gave much space in his paper, but assumed captaincy of a team in the *Labor* division. A news sheet—"Campaign News"—was published by the office for each pre-campaign meeting, spurring workers on and inciting rivalry and high spirits.

Those who couldn't be reached in person were reached through the mails. Two hundred letters to prominent white citizens with business reply envelopes brought gratifying response.

President Sets Example

Detroit boasts a president who not only challenges his workers to bring in results, but sets an example himself. Dr. James J. McClendon, known for his ability to bring in memberships, made the workers know that he really "practiced what he preached" by bringing in close to two hundred members and over three hundred dollars personally solicited. Since his inauguration in 1938, Dr. McClendon has done much to put Detroit "on the map" of association work. Willing to fight on any issue, he added his militancy to the branch, inspiring confidence as a fighter and a leader. Recognizing the needs of the Detroit branch, and foreseeing the importance of the branch in civic activity, it was he who suggested the establishment of an office and the appointment of an executive secretary.

Ready for Daisy!

Arriving in town Sunday morning, May 24, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary, took over, tied loose ends, and with her wealth of experience handled even the most petty details necessary after the memberships were turned in. At Second Baptist church where she launched the campaign with a challenging address, the first report was made, producing over 800 members and close to one thousand dollars.

The campaign was off, and "Daisy" was plunged immediately into the job of inspiring workers, keeping spirits high, making each membership tally with every dollar, checking and rechecking, going day and night, keeping up with a campaign which seemed to be ahead of everyone. Three days after the first report the drive was over the 1500 mark. Steady reporting brought the total to the half way mark on June 8 with a total of 5,871 members reported, and the final report meeting was just two days away. Director Daisy swept all into one last effort! An S.O.S. was sent to each of the seven hundred workers of the campaign, personal telephone calls and all time was given to reaching the goal. On June 12, workers reported 4,347 more members. Pandemonium reigned. Workers and captains hugged one another. When the smoke of battle cleared the reported total for June 12 was 10,218 members

(*Continued on page* 301)

Willkie Speech in Los Angeles

OUR nation has now been at war seven and a half months. We have raised an army upward of four million men. We have converted our manufacturing, laid out vast new shipyards, rationed our commodities, organized our labor, put the complete resources of the country at the disposal of our government and made of this a people's war. Profound as has been this transition, it has been no more fundamental, nor rapid, than the changes that have occurred in our thinking.

This war has opened for us new horizons; new geographical horizons, new mental horizons. We have been a people devoted largely to home enterprise. We have become a people whose first interests are beyond the seas. The names of Russian, Burmese, Libyan or Chinese towns command primary attention in our newspapers. The most eagerly seized letters coming into our homes are from our young men in India, New Guinea, Ireland or North Africa. Our interests go with their interests, and we may feel certain that when they have battled over the world, they will not return home as provincial Americans. Nor will they find us so. What does all this mean? It means that though we began to grow up with the earlier world war, we are only now changing completely from a young nation of domestic concerns to an adult nation of international interests and world outlook.

War not Racial

Let us look for a moment at the nature of this war. It is not a clash between races. It is rather a clash between concepts of government and life. Aligned against us are the German people, who, yielding to the promises of a dictator, surrendered their liberties to the State and abdicated their rights as free men and women. Germany was carried into a war of conquest by the mad imperialism of one man lusting for power. So, too, was Italy, where a Fascist war lord, fresh from his cheap conquest of Ethiopia, saw visions of Augustan splendor.

Fighting with them is Japan, with dreams of empire cherished through centuries. Today those dreams are fanned into a white-heat of action by a military caste imbued with an imperialistic doctrine similar to that which guides the Axis powers. This formidable militaristic array is bound together by no relationship except a common desire for conquest and plunder. It is an alliance of imperialism. It is an alliance self-condemned and self-doomed. For even if it should achieve victory, it must by its very nature turn upon itself for a final orgy of slaughter to determine which imperialism is to have the final ascendency.

The test of a people is their aim and not their color, Mr. Willkie told 10,000 persons at the Los Angeles conference of the NAACP

We of the democratic nations are fighting an anti-imperialistic war. We covet no territory. We want no more power than is necessary to prevent a repetition of this slaughter and to maintain a world in which men can be free. We seek to liberate, not to enslave. We seek to break down the economic barriers of the world that the peoples of the world may live richer lives.

In this war we are allied with four hundred million people of China and we count as our friends three hundred million people of India. Fighting with us are the Filipinos and the natives of Java and the East Indies and of South Africa. Together, these peoples comprise almost half of the world's population. With none of them have the majority of Americans any ties of race. But we are learning in this war that it is not racial classifications nor ethnological considerations which bind men together. It is shared concepts and kindred objectives.

We are learning that the test of a people is their aim not their color. Even Hitler's high racial wall has been breached by the recognition of a common purpose in those "honorary Aryans," the Japanese.

We, too, have our natural allies. We must, now and hereafter, cast our lot as a nation with all those other peoples, whatever their race or color, who prize liberty as an innate right, both for themselves and for others. We must, now and hereafter, together with those peoples, reject the doctrine of imperialism which condemns the world to endless war.

Color Is Unimportant

Let me emphasize once more that race and color do not determine what people are allies and what people are enemies in this struggle. In the east, we have a plain example. Japan is our enemy because of her wanton and barbaric aggression upon weaker nations; because of the imperialistic doctrine by which she seeks to rule and enslave the world. Japan is our enemy because of the treacherous and unprovoked attacks by which she has launched each of her assaults in carrying forward her scheme of conquest.

China is our friend because like us she nourishes no dream of conquest; because she values liberty. She is our ally because, first among the nations, she resisted aggression and enslavement.

Here are two Oriental peoples. One is our enemy; one is our friend. I tell you race and color have nothing to do with what we are fighting for today. Race and color do not determine at whose side we shall fight.

These are things the white race is learning through this war. These are things we needed to learn.

Even our enemy, Japan, has been able to shock our racial complacency. She has rudely awakened us to the fact that the white race is not a select race and enjoys no superior rights in combat merely because of past progress and ascendency. Where, a year ago, we were generally contemptuous of Japan as a possible enemy, we now recognize that we have encountered a formidable foe, against whom we must marshal our full strength.

Our ally, China, has by the same token, taught us a new and healthy humility. For we have seen her for almost five years, alone, with none of the equipment of modern warfare, defy that same formidable foe. And today her people still resist while we make ready to take our share in the struggle. Yes, the moral atmosphere in which the white race lives, is changing. It is changing not only in our attitude toward the people of the far east. It is changing here at home.

Our "Race Imperialism"

It has been a long while since the United States had any imperialistic designs toward the outside world. But we have practiced within our own boundaries something that amounts to race imperialism. The attitude of the white citizens of this country toward the Negroes has undeniably had some of the unlovely characteristics of an alien imperialism—a smug racial superiority, a willingness to exploit an unprotected people. We have justified it by telling ourselves that its end is benevolent. And sometimes it has been. But so sometimes have been the ends of imperialism. And the moral atmosphere in which it has existed is identical with that in which

(*Continued on page* 301)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Discrimination Through USES: To Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Administrator and chairman of the War Manpower Commission, went a vigorous objection from the NAACP to Section 5 of the United States Employment Service Bulletin, C-45, which would allow an employer to ask for "white Christians only" on job orders, and have his request granted by the USES, unless his state has laws against discrimination.

The section makes an exception to states where legislation outlaws discrimination in employment but there are only four states, the NAACP told McNutt, where there is such legislation. They are New York, Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, and the laws in the latter two states are not strong.

If the memorandum is allowed to stand, it will mean Negroes will be back where they were before the President signed his executive order, the NAACP asserted.

Handicaps for Negro Flyers: The quota system for training Negro army pilots at Tuskegee Institute has resulted in "hundreds and hundreds" of young Negroes being put on waiting lists "a year and a half long" the NAACP said this week in a letter to Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War.

Many of the Negro applicants who had passed all tests for the Air Corps were so far down on the list that they were inducted by the draft and forced to serve in other branches, through no fault of their own, the protest said.

The NAACP renewed its request that Negroes be allowed to train wherever there is a training base, and mentioned the "discouragement, despair and cynicism which the limited segregated facilities at Tuskegee are spreading among Negro young men who are eligible for service in the Air Corps."

Federal Anti-Lynching Law: Two of St. Louis' largest local dailies, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the *Star-Times*, called for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law, after the federal grand jury investigating the lynching of Cleo Wright in Sikeston, last January, returned a "white trash" statement, July 31, finding that no federal statute had been violated. No indictments were returned.

Rebellion in the South: On August 14, Walter White, before an audience assembled at the Municipal Auditorium, St. Louis, in a mass meeting sponsored by the March on Washington Movement, delivered a pointed address.

He charged that "sinister forces are deliberately trying to foment race riots in various parts of the country, particularly in the South." He stated that "though even some of you may not realize it, we have open rebellion, bordering on treason in the United States today." "The rebels," said White, "are Gene Talmadge of Georgia, Governor Dixon of Alabama, Congressman Rankin of Mississippi, the Ku Klux Klan, the National Workers League, and all those who share their views."

Lily-White Democratic Primaries: In all states where the white primary excludes Negroes, the NAACP is prepared not only to file cases for damages in Federal Courts but to prepare briefs and to request the Department of Justice to institute criminal prosecution against election judges, and others, under the United States Civil Rights Statutes.

Affidavits are being taken in three states, Arkansas, Texas and Alabama, from those who were refused the right to vote. The Department of Justice will be asked to institute criminal prosecution of the election judges.

NAACP special counsel, Thurgood Marshall, stated, "The NAACP will press this fiight in all of the southern states until Negroes are guaranteed the right to vote, not only in the general election, but, in all primaries where federal offices are involved."

Nashville Teachers' Salaries: Federal judge Elmer D. Davies, of the U. S. District Court, granted a declaratory judgment and an injunction to restrain the Nashville school board from discriminating in the payment of salaries solely on the grounds of race or color.

NAACP lawyers, who handled the case for the Negro teachers, showed that the differences which exist in salary scales for white and colored teachers are based solely on color, since eligibility requirements are the same for both. The lawyers were supported by the judge and the final decree and injunction were submitted to Judge Davies on August 5 for his signature.

Better Roles for Negroes: Through efforts exerted by the NAACP, negotiations are expected to continue concerning the assignment of Negroes to roles in motion picture which are more in keeping with their status and contribution to American life and culture.

Strong impetus to the drive to do away with the comic and menial roles which Negroes have heretofore played in the films was given at a luncheon at the 20th Century-Fox Studios in Hollywood recently, where Walter White and Wendell L. Willkie were guests of honor.

Before 70 top executives of the film world Mr. White said, "Restriction of Negroes to roles with rolling eyes, chattering teeth, always scared of ghosts, or to portrayals of none-too-bright servants perpetuates a stereotype which is doing the Negro infinite harm. And showing him always as a mentally inferior creature, lacking in ambition, is one of the reasons for the denial to the Negro of opportunity and for the low morale, not only of Negroes, but of colored peoples throughout the world, as it consistently holds the Negro up to ridicule and disparagement."

Fair Employment Practice Committee: The most dire result of the abolition of the independent status of the FEPC and its transfer to the War Manpower Commission, is the chance it gives the southern bloc in Congress to cut off funds for the future operation of the FEPC, the NAACP Washington Bureau reported.

The Bureau said that the FEPC must now get its funds from the budgetary allotment of the War Manpower Commission, which is already restricted because Congress granted it only a little more than one-tenth of the amount requested. While previously the FEPC was responsible only to the President this would now make it necessary for the WMC to go to Congress for additional funds and the southern bloc will have an opportunity to see to it that no further money is provided for the FEPC.

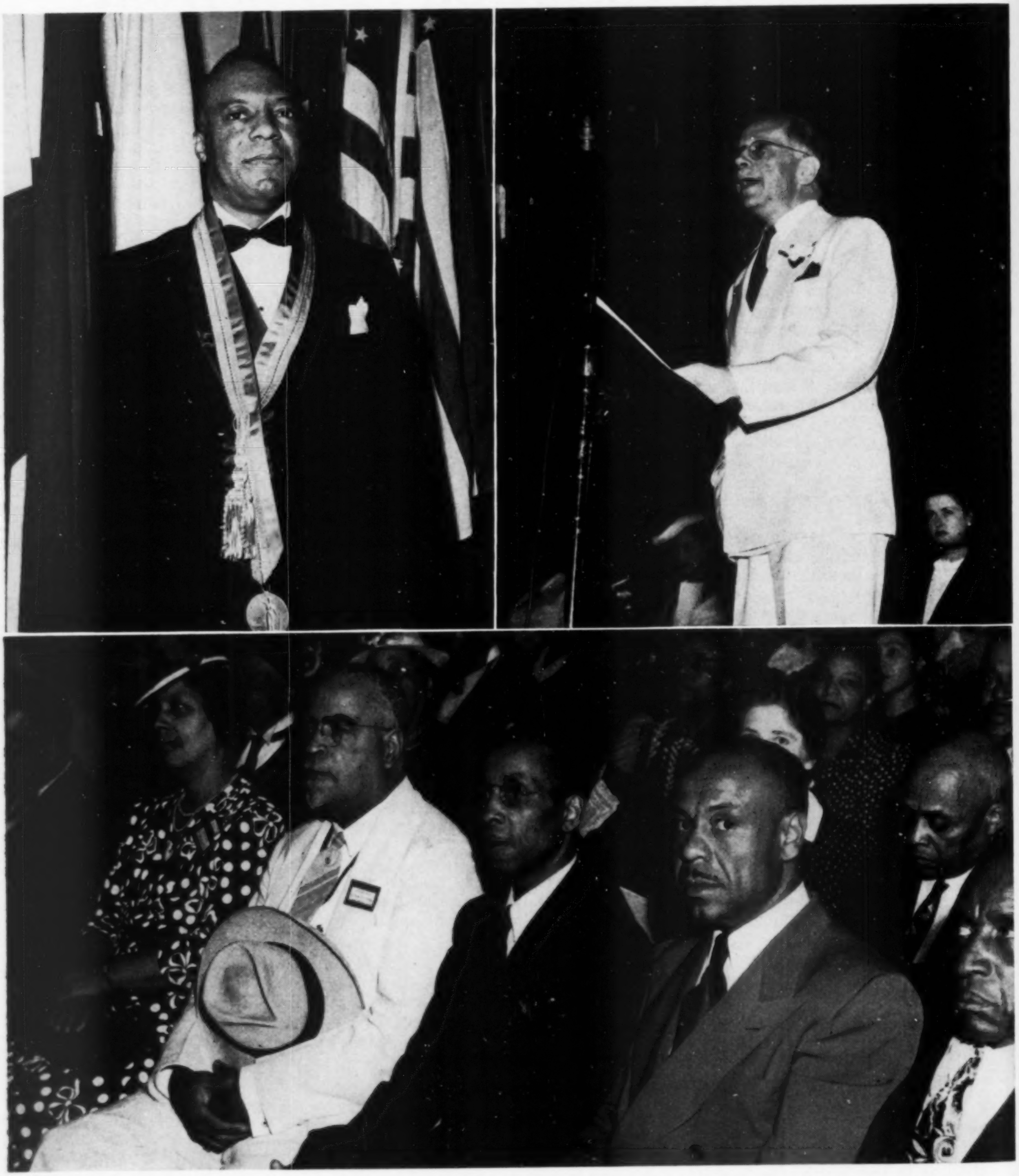
The Washington Bureau has telegraphed branches in 34 of the largest cities throughout the country, urging them to send telegrams and to get other organizations and individuals to wire President Roosevelt to restore to the FEPC its independence.

33rd Conference Resolutions: Chief item in the resolutions adopted by the 33rd annual conference in Los Angeles, was a statement on "War and National Policy," the principal excerpts from which follow:

> The war against Axis aggression into which our nation has been plunged along with Russia, China, Great Britain, and twenty-four other nations is a war in which racial minorities in this and other lands have a great stake. We in the NAACP know that the racial ideas of Nazism are directly and completely contrary to everything for which we have stood and stand today. We remember well Hitler's contemptuous reference to Negroes as half apes. We know that all civil rights, the rights of free speech, press, and assembly, the right to worship without state interference, and the

(*Continued on page* 299)

Notables at Los Angeles Conference



The Second Baptist church in Los Angeles, Calif., was packed to the limit July 17, with standees in the hallways, ante-rooms, around the walls, and on the terrace outside, when A. Philip Randolph received the 27th Spingarn Medal, presented by Bishop John A. Gregg. Upper left shows Mr. Randolph before a bank of flags of the United Nations. Upper right view is of Walter White speaking to the audience of 10,000 persons in the Shrine auditorium at the closing meeting of the conference Sunday afternoon, July 19. Below, left to right, Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore, Md., branch; Bishop Gregg, of Kansas City, Kansas; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Va., president of the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches; Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., president of the Los Angeles branch; and Rev. Oliver, of Red Bird, Okla. Randolph photo by Los Angeles Tribune; others by Mansfield Collins

AT LOS ANGELES: Upper left, film actress Joan Bennett chatting with Mrs. Norman Houston (center) and Mrs. George A. Beavers, both of Los Angeles. Upper right, at registration desk, left to right, film actor Clarence Muse, Rev. A. W. Carter of the Tulare, Calif., branch, Host T. L. Griffith, Jr., Mrs. Alice Cunningham and Mrs. Seth E. Lee. Lower left, A. Philip Randolph is greeted by Walter Wanger, motion picture producer. Lower right, part of platform party at Shrine auditorium meeting, Wilkins, Bennett, White, Willkie and Lampkin. Left photos by Los Angeles Tribune; right by Collins

(*Continued from page* 297)

right to hold elections after free discussion, are all slated for destruction if Nazism is victorious; and if such Nazi doctrines prevail in an America defeated by the Axis, then the NAACP itself would become illegal.

We are therefore squarely behind the war and especially support the ideals proclaimed by Vice-President Wallace.

We Negroes of America demand no special privileges. But we do demand from America all the rights accorded to our white fellow citizens, the rights to which we would be entitled if the professed democratic ideals of equal rights for all regardless of race, creed, or color were really carried out. We demand the right to live and work for our country in the defense industries and otherwise, and the right to die for our country without segregation or discrimination in the armed forces and on the same basis as all other citizens.

This war against Hitler and his junior partner is not merely a military war; it is a political war as well. In a war to prevent the destruction of democracy, national morale will be stronger in proportion as the democracy which we defend is made real.

Therefore, we do raise and will continue to raise with all the vigor of which we are capable, these issues of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, denial of employment in war industries, brutality against Negro soldiers by prejudiced military and local civilian police in some areas, and the denial in some sections of the right to vote and serve on juries; police brutality against Negro civilians, discrimination against Negroes in government and diplomatic service; lynching, railroad jim crow cars, and educational discrimination which condemns Negro children to totally inadequate schooling in the places where most Negroes live, and all other evils against which our organization contends.

We will not abandon our fight for racial justice during the war. We have made progress along these lines and will continue to make more if we do not slacken our efforts.

Branch News

Connecticut: The Stamford branch held a mass meeting, August 9, at the Union Baptist Church. James E. Allen, president of the New York State Conference of branches was the principal speaker.

Kansas: The Newton branch, one of the oldest in Kansas, opened its membership drive on July 7. Rev. M. M. Jones, pastor of the C.M.E. church, the principal speaker, had as his subject, "The NAACP and its Accomplishments."

Louisiana: A special meeting was held by the New Orleans branch, August 2, in order that the report of the Los Angeles convention could be read.

AT LOS ANGELES: Upper left, Walter Huston, the film actor, who said a few words on the youth night program, and the Rev. Karl Downs (white suit). Upper right, Walter White, film star Hattie McDaniels, and Mayor Bowron. Lower left, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary, Dr. J. J. McClendon, president Detroit, Mich., branch, and Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Va. Lower right, Wendell Willkie, film star Joan Bennett, and Walter White. Photos by Collins

Massachusetts: An attempt was made by the New Bedford branch to recruit the support of the whites as well as Negroes in the organization. The membership drive, which ended August 8, was under the leadership of Dr. J. Tunstall Parham.

New Jersey: In a letter to Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, director of Selective Service in Washington, Roscoe Carrol and James E. King, president and secretary of the Atlantic City branch, urged Negro representation on New Jersey's draft boards. Specific instances of discrimination were cited as evils which hindered the complete cooperation of Negroes in the war effort.

A musical and literary program was given by the Rahway branch at the Ebenezer A.M.E. church.

A "Battle of Songs" was staged by the radio famous Wandering Boys' quartet and the Metropolitan A.M.E. Zion church choir for the benefit of the Hoboken branch.

Mrs. Fannie Curtis, president of the Paterson branch, and Carl Holderman, chairman of the American Labor League of New Jersey, came to the support of Irving Abramson, president of the New Jersey State CIO council, who has attacked Congressman Gordon Canfield for his seeming indifference to the anti-poll tax bill.

New Mexico: A financial rally was staged July 8, by the Hobbs branch in an effort to gain new members. The membership committee also sponsored a carnival at the home of Mrs. Etta Anderson.

New York: The Brooklyn branch held its monthly meeting on June 25 with E. Frederic Morrow, of the national office, as principal speaker. The branch has decided to continue its membership campaign until the 1000 mark is reached.

Dr. John A. Singleton, president of the Jamaica branch, in a letter to Commissioner Valentine, made a plea for more Negro patrolmen in the South Jamaica area to handle the rise in crime.

The Troy branch, at the June 26 meeting, decided to sponsor a drive to enlist more volunteers in the civilian defense program. They are also taking charge of a War Bond booth for two hours daily. The educational committee of the branch arranged a meeting to honor Negro graduates, on July 23.

Clarence Maloney, assistant attorney general of Buffalo, was the principal speaker.

North Carolina: The Henderson branch, at its meeting June 29, made plans to sponsor a drive for better membership during the month of July. Authur Pool, president of the branch, presided at the meeting.

Ohio: A successful membership campaign, under the chairmanship of Mrs. J. V. Duffy, has just been completed by the Toledo branch. They exceeded the $1000 goal set and placed more than 800 names on the roster.

Pennsylvania: The Philadelphia branch is planning court action to secure homes for Negroes who, they charge, are being systematically denied housing in the 3400 defense units built by Federal funds and administered by the Philadelphia Housing Authority. Theodore A. Spaulding, head of the branch, expects approximately fifteen other organizations to join in the complaint.

Virginia: The Northern Neck branch became the largest rural chapter in the state when it swelled its membership from 122 to 255, during its recent drive. Dr. H. J. McGuinn, of the Richmond branch, spoke at the mass meeting which opened the drive, and Ella Baker, of the national office, at the closing meeting.

West Virginia: Attorney T. G. Nutter, president of the Charleston branch, began agitation for equal rights for Negroes in the West Virginia parks. The branch is fighting Gov. Neely's plan to have Kanawha Forest pool used by Negro citizens one day out of the week.

The Wheeling branch closed its membership drive July 31 at the Macedonia Baptist Church. The principal speaker was Rev. Robert B. Powell.

Let's Get 10,000

(*Continued from page* 295)

and $11,825. Sticking even after victory and until the last membership was well on its way to New York, Mrs. Lampkin called a gleaning meeting which brought the total to 11,119 members. With memberships still coming in, there are, at this writing, 11,698 members.

Even with the speed of the campaign, Mrs. Lampkin found time to do something extra. She conceived the idea of collecting money at one of the colored ball games sponsored at Briggs Stadium. Fifty young ladies (admitted free into the game through the courtesy of John R. Williams, Detroit editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier* and Dr. S. W. Jenkins) consented to assist by collecting the funds, which were set aside for the legal defense fund of the branch. This collection netted $258.

A carefully planned and executed campaign was responsible for the greatest membership drive in N.A.A.C.P. history. It merely shows what can be done on a mass scale with organization and enthusiasm. Given a cause, an issue, an active branch, the people will rally to the support of the program.

Willkie Speech

(*Continued from page* 296)

men—well meaning men—could talk of "the white man's burden."

But that atmosphere is changing. Today it is becoming increasingly apparent to thoughtful Americans that we cannot fight the forces and ideas of imperialism abroad, and maintain a form of imperialism at home. The war has done this to our thinking.

Barriers Breaking Down

Emancipation came to the colored race in America as a war measure. It was an act of military necessity. Manifestly it would have come without war, in the slower process of humanitarian reform and social enlightenment. But it required a disastrous, internecine war to bring this question of human freedom to a crisis, and the process of striking the shackles from the slave was accomplished in a single hour. So we are finding under the pressures of this present conflict, that long standing barriers and prejudices are breaking down. The defense of our democracy against the forces that threaten it from without has made some of its failures to function at home glaringly apparent.

Our very proclamations of what we are fighting for, have rendered our own inequities self-evident. When we talk of freedom and opportunity for all nations, the mocking paradoxes in our own society become so clear they can no longer be ignored.

Our old world is breaking to pieces. And with its break-up arises the opportunity to fashion a newer and a better life. As always in periods of profound change and struggle, those who contribute the most will have the most to do with fashioning the future.

It was not the cautious or the whiners or the self-interested or the fearful who shaped this country. It was the men and women, who, through years of discouragement and privation, kept alive the spirit and the armies of the American Revolution. And when the struggle was won, it was their faith in justice, their will to freedom that found expression in our Constitution. They shaped the course of the new Nation.

And so it will be tomorrow. I tell you that the people who contribute the most to winning this war—the individual men and women, of whatever race, creed or color, the groups who serve and sacrifice, whether in military or civilian life—they are the people who will determine mankind's direction for generations.

Serve and Share

You here today are leaders. You have been sore tried with many of the practices of our democracy. And it is right that you should be alert to every opportunity to remove the discriminations that exist against your people. But you will find your largest opportunity to help your people in leading them to give their utmost to the preservation and advancement of our democracy. Thus by serving greatly they will share greatly in building among us a society in which all men will have justice and a real freedom.

For with all its defects—and they are many—American democracy is the only sure foundation we know upon which a world of justice and freedom can be built.

I know I do not have to tell you this. For I know I look into the faces of men and women who love America totally.

Americans in Concentration Camps

(*Continued from page* 284)

vegetables and fruits for themselves and for others. They distinguished themselves at school, abstained from politics, had the lowest crime-rate of any group in the entire country. They earned the respect of all decent white persons who came in contact with them, overcoming racial prejudice among tens of thousands; many of these tried ineffectively to help them during recent months; most significant is the fact that there have actually been no lynchings, and that Japanese-Americans felt safe in their own American communities where they were known. They did not ask for the Army's "protection;" it was thrust upon them.

What has been their reward? They have been plundered of everything, and crowded in concentration camps fit only for pigs. If Westbrook Pegler and the southern senators have their way they will be deported to Japan when the war is over. There is already a move to deprive them of citizenship—a move headed by the "Native Sons of the Golden West" and the Senate's Immigration Committee. If this move is successful, it would disfranchise not only Japanese-Americans but other "Asiatics." It is using as its basis, indeed, an 1898 court decision disfranchising an American of Chinese descent—later overruled by a majority United States supreme court decision. And if native-born Americans, of Asiatic descent, can be denied all civil rights and civil liberties, what about Americans of African descent?

Down to the Civil War, American citizenship was for "free whites." The Fourteenth Amendment ended this limitation—on paper—and racial limitations on citizenship were formally abolished. It has taken a long while to approach this. Most American Negroes are still disfranchised—by poll tax or other restrictions in the states where they are most numerous. But much has been gained, and colored Americans are now struggling with increasing success for a position of political equality.

The drive against Americans of Asiatic descent is a direct counter to this. It is significant that southern senators and congressmen are among the most rabidly anti-Japanese. For if Asiatic-Americans can be reduced to bondage, deprived of citizenship and of property, the same thing can be done to Afro-Americans—and to Jews.

This is an integral part of the struggle for human and racial equality. It concerns every Negro. It concerns every believer in democracy and human equality, regardless of color. "For even as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Upon Pausing in a Storm

I watched a tongue of lighting last night,
It was as if God had leaned forward
The better to see the wet city,
And in doing so, caught the gleam in His
eyes.

—William Smallwood

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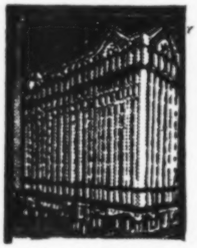

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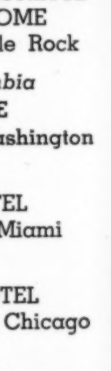

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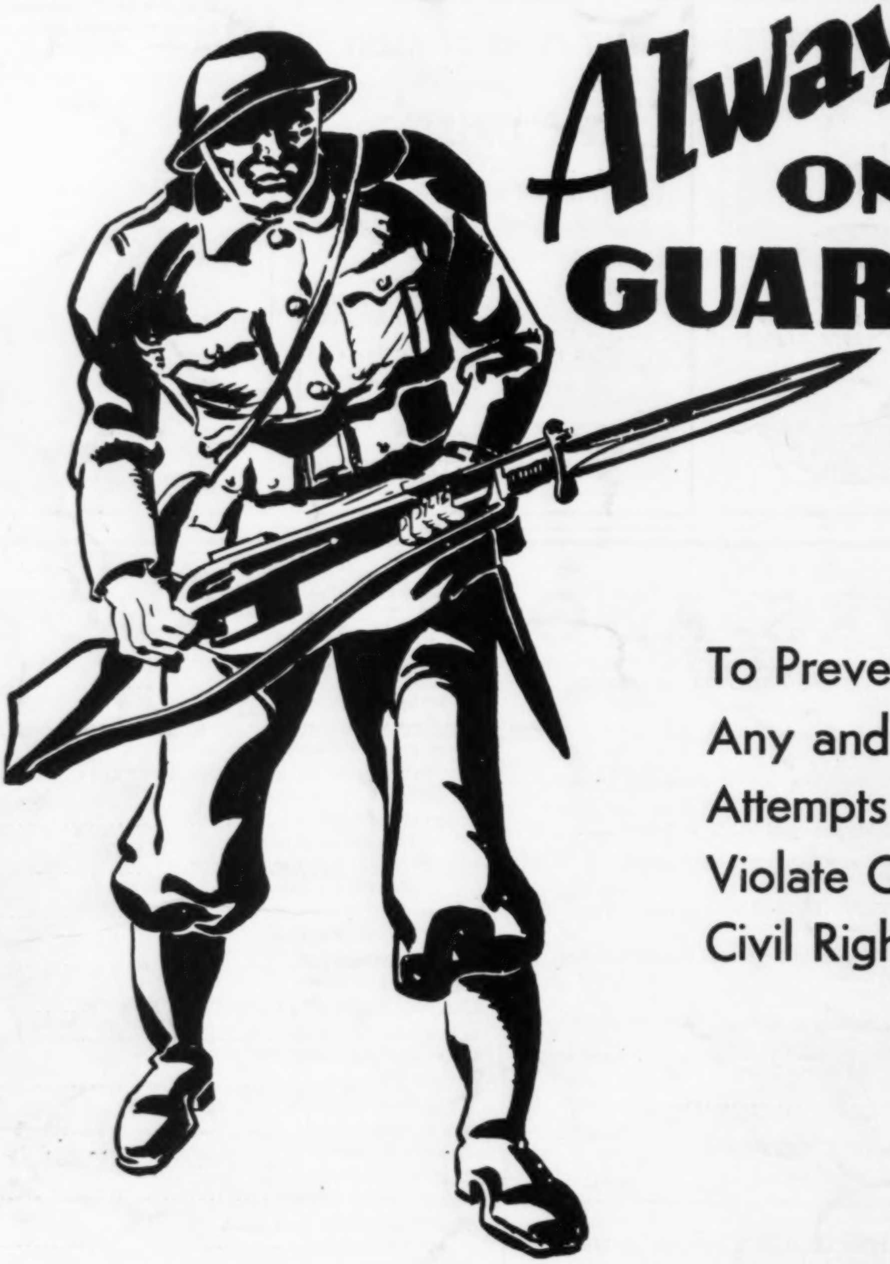

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